4: Silva--215 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/150 cont./

648 He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily
466 he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that
428 is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

648 In order to have them at his service, at the time of the
466 seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance. It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fàbrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indian hides; or runs away after working for a time.

431 He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has
648 received many from him. He sells to him (17).

17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.

123 At the time of our first excursion to the
431 Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yuruparí-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

4: Silva--364 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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464 and of that of the Amazon (80).

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80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

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and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

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466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

[837] [797]

125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal places. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of venereal

164 diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i)).

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

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858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, [466] in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

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54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

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55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 99).

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582 to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papurí River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[1]

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797 A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

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648 The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

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Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

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